1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

288 197 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware 323 although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and 411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only 224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet 227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*[7] and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8] These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, 411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were 501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their 556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbar- 119 181 ism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little. The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

[4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuri* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

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[P.13(B)]

439 556 [583] in lieu of the death penalty [21] and they also served as betrothal presents.[22]

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use 423 226 [685] of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuji Dai-Ryakuchō* [*HDHS*] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

> In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. [224] [685] In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423 224 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,[23]

> There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

423 [195] While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the [671] Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo." [24] A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

> There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423 628 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembun Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in 423 226 [224] Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

[21] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyū* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.
[22] Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.
[23] *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.
[24] Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in *SHS* 5: 234.

hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear. For example, the tail was given to his mother and the hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give two shares to a pregnant relative.[28]

The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could not have been very large judging from the catch and the methods used but there were probably some that extended over the area of several villages judging from the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni* [province] or *gun* [district] of today.[29] The size of the area differed according to the location and natural features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recognized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka, his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,[30] and while in Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not violate his rights.[31] In agriculture there seems to have been no cooperation among members of a family. Title to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him who occupied the land.[32]

It seems that to a certain degree there was division of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen Zokuwa* [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark fiber and to draw water." A better description is found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

> All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other work.

Division of labor between groups seems to have been restricted to trading the necessities of life with each other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

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[28] April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

[29] Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

[30] *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

[31] According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

[32] Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-sei no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing grounds were actively worked.[16]

Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi* (according to the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.[17] Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.[18] By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."[19] The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.[20] Seals became less in number.[21] The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly native goods which could be sold in the markets of Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The contractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

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[16] Hidaya Kyūki (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

[17] *Hokkaidō Shi* **1**: 152.

[18] *Ibid.*, 142.

[19] *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.

[20] "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokuwa.*

[21] "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, sealskin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and abalone. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM.*

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On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned[57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

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meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

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[56] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

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[57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

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[58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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meet at the appointed place on a given day, the younger folk also being allowed to be present. The disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through their selected representatives, lasting for days on end sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question as to which side had won would be decided by the vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differences were settled in this way, though the tribal quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed. This plan suited the people well and they abode faithfully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near the river banks in any district would lay claim to these as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal hunting domains, thus making certain territories their own private property, in which none but the owners had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. When these could not be easily settled between the villages where the poaching had taken place, the people were called together and the matter was openly considered and adjusted. In the special instances I have now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name, which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man, for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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were not at all bad and we ought to bear with them in patience and not rage about them. "For," said he, "consider their origin. They came down from above and so are really heavenly insects." "But how so?" I inquired, and he replied by citing the following story about their descent to this earth. "In the beginning fleas dwelt upon the body of the god of thunder; and as the body of this god itched very much one day, he scratched it and shook himself. Then many fleas dropped upon this earth, where they now dwell. And so it always happens that whenever it thunders these insects hop about much and are very lively."

Think of this, reader! Wonders will never cease! I had got thus far with my writing when I picked up a Japanese newspaper in which I was informed that some local authority in the south of Japan would pay two rin for every flea caught and taken in to the proper authority. This means, say, one farthing for five fleas. They should apply to the god of thunder, surely, and so make certain of a good paying living.

For food, as I had brought nothing with me, the chief's wife fed me on millet (for she had no rice), potatoes, cabbage stew, beans and what I could procure with my gun. There was no meat to be had, and the village had no chickens at all, so that eggs were not procurable. Now and again I got a piece of salmon, but this had to be eaten almost in secret, as the people were not then allowed to catch fish in the river. Once I got a small bit of dried venison, which was so tough that I could only make soup of it. But it was very good. Deer killing had been forbidden, as these animals were becoming scarce, so that I had to eat it "on the sly." One day the chief managed to get me a couple of hen's eggs from somewhere. On handing them to his wife to cook for me I saw that she wrapped each up in a big leaf, gave them a sharp tap on one end, and then put them in the hot ashes on the hearth. After a time she poked them out with the fire tongs,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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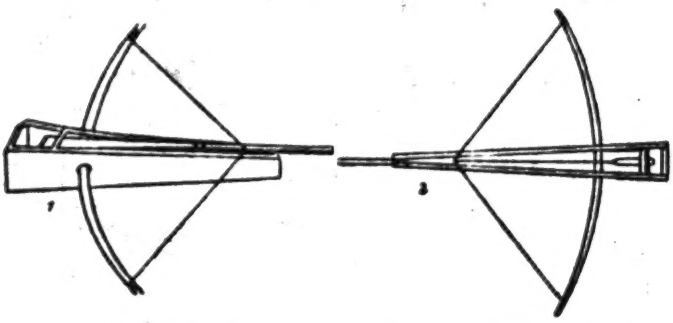
A favourite way of catching rats among this people was by a trap such as the following. It consisted of a sort of oblong box having a bow so placed as to close a slide firmly to the end as soon as the animal pulled at a bait placed inside near the bottom. The slide catches the rat by the middle, the head being inside and the hind quarters outside. There is no noise made by the animal. I have taken as many as seven, one after the other, in the course of an evening, and found another caught fast in the morning. But it is a bad plan to allow other rats to see one thus caught. They seem to take the hint and seek healthier quarters at once. Fig. 1 shows the top of the trap ready set, and Fig. 2 reveals the string inside to which the bait is tied.



RAT TRAP, SET. RAT TRAP, UNDERVIEW

Once about midnight Penri gave a most fearful yell, jumped up very suddenly, and rushed across to my sleeping place. Arrived there, he pushed open my sliding door and asked me why I had slipped across to his place and given his hair a pull! I was greatly astonished at this and asked what he meant. But he stuck to it that I had got up a short time ago and had come and

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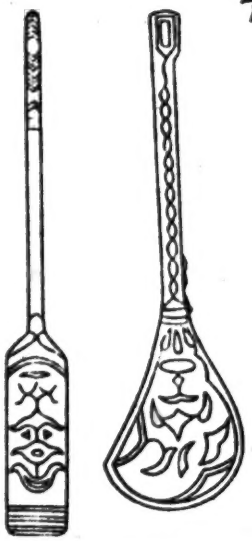
CHAPTER XIII

SUSTENANCE

In the old palmy days food was both plentiful and easy to come by among the Ainu, and they were very happy and contented. Even when I myself first arrived among them about 50 years ago, anxiety with regard to sustenance was only just beginning to be felt in places. In the season the salmon rivers were full of fish, so much so indeed that in some places they crowded one another out of the water on to the banks, and the otters and bears had glorious times among them. The natives netted or speared many. They also killed quite a number by beating them with poles, and even the dogs used to help to catch them by swimming out and surrounding some and then driving them ashore. The season was short so that they "made hay whilst the sun shone." It was then that the roofs of the huts were to be seen crammed full of fish hanging up in the smoke, while many poles which were set up outside were covered with fine salmon slit up the middle and drying in the sun. But being thus dried fresh and



LADLES FOR STIRRING THE COOKING-POTS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

> When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession.

That is all, and in it we have another link with and echo from the past.

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it.

I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar that I now write a translation of it. (There is really nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the discarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid-

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231 and clever." A little later the creature's claws became so strong and painful to those who played with him, that he was put into a cage and there well fed by Mrs. Tee till it was time to have the festival and kill and eat him.

● 224 When hunting bears, Tee told me that he and his dogs used to go and look for the place in which one was hibernating, and then he would settle how to attack and kill him. He said that in the snow which covered the den, there was always just a small yellow discoloration made by the warm breath of the animal. The dogs were very clever at finding this, and when found, they would stand round it and set up a great baying till he came to them. He and his dogs then worked away the snow from the entrance of the den, and, when the hole was sufficiently big, he himself would crawl in on his hands and knees, carrying a long knife with him. The dogs would stay outside to watch the entrance. They were there to check the animal when he made the rush into the open. And "they knew their business."

"But," I said, "is it not very dangerous to crawl like that into a bear's den?"

"Yes," he said, "there is always danger, but bears at that time are in a state of silly drowsiness, and do not seem to like to kill anything in their dens. And when they rush out the light confuses them. In the den they stretch out a paw and thrust an intruder roughly to the back of the place. When I get there, and I sometimes have done so without being seen, I prick the animal from behind with my knife, and, not liking this, he makes a rush for the open, where the dogs bait him till I come and kill him."

Tee was a very brave man and had a superabundance of cool courage and nerve. I admired the man. He was one worth knowing. He told me also that in the event of being hugged by a bear, the only escape was by no means to draw away, but to press well in

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AB6 Ainu AB6

and hug in return and while doing so thrust the knife into the animal's heart. He had done this and escaped with a mere scratch! 224

I was always on the look-out for curios when among the Ainu, but my friend Tee had one only to offer me. It was quite unique. It was what he called a war club. However, it was not wood, as I had expected it to be, but was a simple piece of iron rod about three feet and a half long. There were three notches filed into it. Upon asking him what these notches represented, he said they were put there by his ancestors to indicate that three men had been killed in battle with it. I declined it with thanks. No doubt it was buried with him at his death, poor fellow. 441

The Ainu always used aconite poison in olden times on their arrows when hunting. And they also set up spring bows by the tracks of bears and deer, by which they got not a few. Any animal going along the track where one was set would touch a string attached to the trigger of the bow as it passed, and this would let the poisoned arrow off at such a height as to strike the body. The poison was a fatal blood poison. One day Tee and a friend went away into the mountains to hunt bears and set up some of these bows. As my friend was walking along a track he accidentally struck against the string of one his friend had set, and received the arrow in his thigh. He had a gun with him which he fired off immediately to call his companion, and then sat down and tried to cut out the arrow head. Before his friend could reach him, however, he had bled to death. His companion found him a corpse. It was a sad home-coming for him. 224 [278 411]

A few years before his death, Tee came to me at Sapporo and said he would like to become a Christian. I told him I was very glad to hear it, and would at once begin to teach him and prepare him for baptism. The following year he came to Sapporo again for 797

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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137

CHIEF PENKI AND HIS TWO BEAR-HUNTING BROTHERS

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN A BEAR'S TRACK

SETTING A SPRING-BOW IN THE RUN OF A FOX OR OTHER ANIMAL

[p.308 (A)]

CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although 262
fish and marine animals constituted the staple food, as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could 605
get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she was quite a small child she took her father's bow and arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she discovered feeding near her home. Her brother's name was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when select- 312
ing sites for their villages. The first thing they con- 361
sidered was the question of good drinking water. They would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of very cold water I have ever come across. The next thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along the banks of which, but not too near, they built their homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being [823]
unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, 224 ●
and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to 278
tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have sometimes occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be [782]
said at every stage of its production. He told me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224 278 the roots should be dug up in the spring, peeled at once, and then put in the sun to dry. When well dried, they were pulverised between two stones. Some tobacco leaves and, if possible, a capsicum should be soaked in water and the powdered roots moistened with the liquor. He also told me that a little fox's gall should be added if procurable, for this rendered the poison very efficacious. But I have a suspicion that the gall was added through superstition, the fox being regarded as a particularly able creature. When made, it was put again in the sun to dry and then stowed away, wrapped up in a leaf and a few fetishes, till needed. When wanted for use, it was again pounded and made soft, and sometimes mashed spiders or some part of the water scorpion added. The poisonous part of the "Jack-in-the-pulpit" (*Arisæma*) was also used in its manufacture. Some of the men buried it in the ground for a few days, for this was said to add strength to it.

When a person wished to know whether his poison was good or not, he applied a minute particle to his tongue. If right, it was said to produce a peculiar sense of tingling first and then numbness. If too much was taken, it caused drunkenness and sleep. No grease of any kind was used to keep the poison moist, for it was said to be unnecessary. Others tested it by placing a little between the third and fourth fingers of the left hand. It here caused a burning sensation. If the poison touched the lips, the skin very soon peeled off, I was told.

When applied to the arrows, a person first dipped the arrow-head (which was generally made of bamboo) into pine tree gum; he then carefully stuck the poison into the proper place and pressed it well home with his thumb. When this had been done, he once more dipped the arrow-head into the gum, then tied a leaf round it for protection and placed it in his quiver.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The following legend concerning this poison which was used by the Ainu is well worth reciting here. 539 278

"This is the origin of aconite poisons. They are divinities and two in number. They are husband and wife and formerly dwelt in Paradise. Now when the Divine Teacher came down from above, he brought them with him for men to use in hunting. The name of the male was *Kerep-Turuse*, i.e., 'Scrape and Infect.' It was very strong, a mere scratch with it causing death. The name of his wife was *Kerep-Nove*, i.e., Scratch and Stagger.'

"This was a slow poison and gentle in its action. When used, it was placed upon the arrow and twisted round the points so that a large piece was taken into the body of the victim.

"The manner of using the male poison was as follows. The hunter would place a little on the arrow point, go and find the track of an animal, offer prayer and shoot in the direction it was found to have taken. If he did so, the arrow would go on and on till it came upon the animal and then strike it dead. Such arrows had life in them and so heard the prayer and did as requested. But, alas, no one now knows how to make the poison. The knowledge was lost in this way.

"Once upon a time, a hunter took some arrows laden with this kind of poison, and went and found deer tracks. Upon seeing some freshly made ones, he took an arrow out of his quiver and prayed to it thus: 'O Thou Divine Arrow, thou art indeed a noble deity, go thou along this track and kill the deer which passed along it yesterday.' So saying, he shot the arrow, which went on and on along the track. But as the deer had passed along a whole day before, it was unable to overtake it, and so fell to the ground exhausted. The hunter followed it up, and when he found it, he trampled upon it in a rage and said, 'O thou Arrow, thou art altogether too weak, thou couldest not 539 278 224

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 even catch a deer which passed along this way so re-
278 cently as yesterday. I will carry thee no more, nor will
224 I offer thee libations.'

"Upon this, all the arrows dipped in that kind of poison took their departure to Paradise again in wrath, and have not been seen since. Although arrows may have some of this poison yet put on them, they are quite ineffectual, inasmuch as this divinity is still [822] angry. The poison the men now use on occasion is the female; hence it is that the arrows carrying it sometimes miss their mark and are also so slow in killing animals."

Deer stalking was an occupation much beloved by this people. Even the women took part in it at times when game was plentiful. But since the introduction of guns, both deer and bears have become remarkably scarce. When out for deer, the men used to carry a little decoy called *Ipakke-Ni*, i.e., "Call-wood." It consisted of a piece of wood made in the form of "horsing irons," such as are used in caulking ships. With these they made a noise which sounded like that made by boys sometimes, when they blow a blade of grass between their fingers or hands. This attracted the notice of the quarry, and they approached the sound to see what it was, and were then shot.

Dogs were employed in hunting the deer. They were taken in packs, which were so well trained that they would not attack and kill the deer, but surround and stand by and keep them at bay till the hunters came up and shot them. Many deer also were taken by the bows which were set in their trails on the mountain ridges.

821 When the people were about to set out hunting, they would not talk about previous hunts or tell any stories connected with them. They said it was unlucky to do so. But why so, I could not find out. So, too, I found that when they were about to take a journey by

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

sea, they were very loth to speak about previous journeys or of any sea adventure. When the women went to work in the harvest time, they would never tell stories of the sun, moon or stars, for fear these luminaries should be offended and cause it to become so dark that they might lose their way home. So superstitious were they all.

Pine-martens were caught by snares very like those set up in England at times to take rabbits and hares. They were placed on the trunks of trees which had fallen across streams, and at the holes in which these animals lived. The spring bows which were used for killing the larger animals stood first in importance, and after them came the traps for catching foxes, racoons and otters. They were all made of wood and were very simple.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

means 'the doctrine of preservation by trees.' The man who gave me much of the information contained below, when speaking of this, said,

"When those hunters who are acquainted with the cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the fetish cluster, go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying, 'O Thou mighty possessor of the soil, we have come to kill animals. Please help us. O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper Thou us.' After this has been done they set out, fully expecting to kill many bears and deer."

This is tree worship in its baldest form, and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree for the time being as their tutelary god or guardian genius. I find, also, that when a person is sick, his friend will sometimes go to the forest and select what he considers to be a good tree or shrub and worship it. He fully believes that if he does this devoutly and in faith, the tree genius will work a cure. Some of the so-called good trees, i.e. trees willing to help, are the willow, dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle tree, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, lilac, birch, magnolia, yew, ash, cercidiphyllum, azalea, chestnut, mulberry, and a few others.

When praying to any of these for the sick, prayers such as the following are said; 'O *Topochi*, thou divine wise and quick one, make haste and heal this sick person. Thou art the child of *Shirampa*, the divine one standing upon the earth, and thou wast sent down from heaven in the beginning. Thou art the great and chief tree god. I know thy name and the name of thy father. Thou art the wise one and art very quick. Thou art also a mediator. In thy father's name, O wise one, yea, in the name of *Shirampa*, I ask Thee to heal him quickly." My friend added,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"When the men go into the mountains to hunt bears, and are attacked by them, and are in so great danger that they must run, and so seek a way of escape, they are certain to be killed by these animals if they have not been instructed in the cult of the mountains and taught how to worship the demons who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply what they have learnt at the right moment, there is no danger at all. They always escape, for both gods and demons help them."

One often hears of demon worship in Ainu lore. But it must not be supposed that all demons are devils. The fact is this. The Ainu demons are both good and bad, and the word used bears the same significance as the old classical Greek 'daimon.' In some instances it is an oversoul or guardian angel, and at others an evil, malignant fiend. The context and subject must always be allowed to interpret the sense in which it should be understood. But this by the way. Another friend said,

"The cult of the mountains consists in tree worship, and the worship of the place in which any tree soever may be growing. And so, when a man is chased by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms, hugging it very closely, stand perfectly still and whisper to the tree genius thus; 'O thou standing tree, save me. Hide my body.' If this be done, the bear will only come as far as the tree and then go away without seeing the man. Or should the bear come upon him when in the act of climbing a tree, and start up after him, he should say to the tree trunk, 'O precious demon of the tree bark, hasten to save me.' Or should he reach the fork of a tree, he should say, 'O thou demon of tree forks, be brave, and fight for me.' Or if he reach the top of the tree he should say, 'O demon of

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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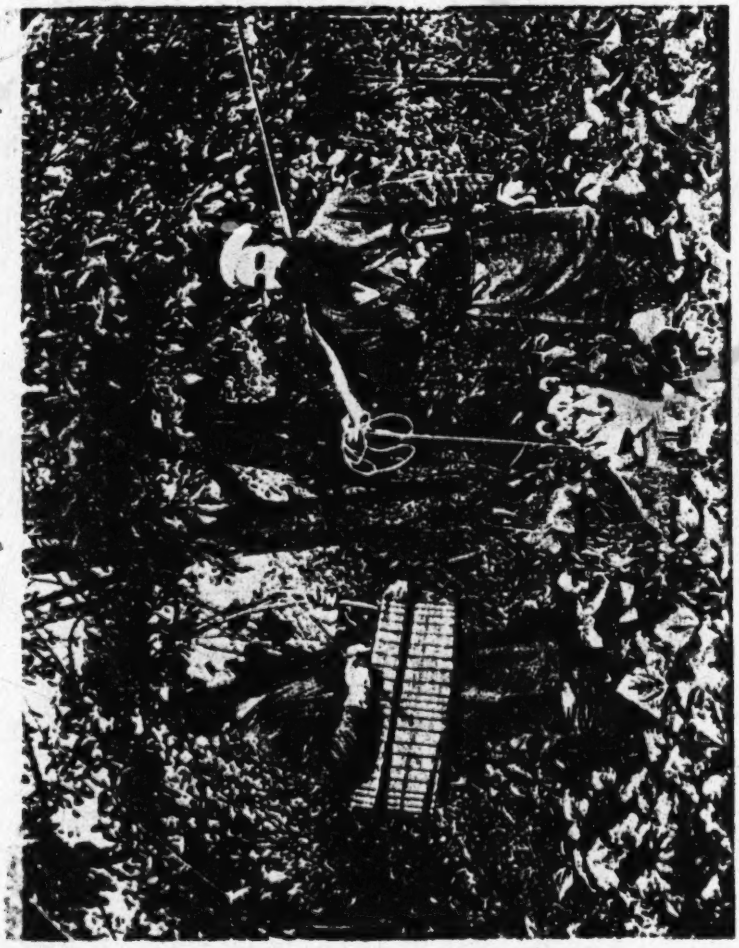

MODERN HUNTERS

[p. 372]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

vegetables. As we were going along, we chanced to hit upon the tracks a fox had made in the snow, and I asked my friend whether we should go and see if we could get its skin. "No," he said very emphatically, "not if you wish to shoot a hare or some ducks." "But why?" I asked. "What has that got to do with it?" Then he said, "if you kill a fox the first thing, you will be certain not to get any good game today." "I don't see why," I replied. "Oh," he returned, "that is because you do not understand how to hunt. If you kill a fox, his spirit will immediately come out of his body and travel round and tell all the other animals and the birds also that you are after them." So we left the fox alone and got on to a hare. My friend told me that in olden times, whenever the men killed a fox while hunting, they always tied his mouth up tightly so as to prevent his spirit from getting out and going off to spread the news.

Another incident happened very near our home in Sapporo one afternoon. It was winter and I put on a pair of broad Canadian show-shoes and went out to find our dinner for the next day. It was not long before I discovered the tracks of a hare, which I followed up for some time. I saw the animal before me but after about an hour of patiently following him in hope, lost him completely. I then returned home and reported my failure. The next day I went again to the same place and as a little more snow had fallen during the night, quickly found his new foot prints. I put the animal up and again followed him, but once more lost him. As I was returning home along my own snow-shoe track, I was surprised to find that the hare had been following me on the very path I had made! I wondered at his sagacity and returned home once more empty-handed. The next morning I got up and went again to have it out with him. I put him up and followed him. We went in a big circle, but after a time

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

224 I was in front and he behind! I actually saw him hopping along steadily after me. I therefore got behind a big tree and waited. By and by along he came, but he stopped just out of gun shot, sat up on his hind quarters, looked about, and then proceeded to wash his face with his paws exactly like a cat! After about ten minutes of waiting and looking round, he came on again along my tracks, and I got him as he was passing. I carried him home, where we jugged him, and found him fine eating. He was indeed a wily hare.

539 825 When I brought my hare home, my servant gave me the following lore. "Formerly hares lived in heaven, but when there they were not called 'hares' but 'deer.' They were the god's own deer and they used to be killed for food. They made very choice eating. Now, the animals men call deer were divine dogs and they also dwelt in Paradise. They were the dogs with which the gods hunted the "hare-deer.' The old bucks and does were slow of foot and could not catch the 'hare-deer.' The fleetest and best hunters were two and three year old bucks." Having told me this, he continued thus: "The divine Aeoina once killed a deer in Paradise and ate it. He plucked some of the hairs out of the skin and cast them upon Ainu-land. As soon as they reached here they changed themselves into hares. This is why these animals are always so thin and unsavoury, for there can be no goodness in the hairs of the skin of animals, however sweet the flesh of such creatures may be. Yet in Paradise they are very fat, because they are not hares but deer."

825 783 Hares are not looked upon by the Ainu with favour, for they are supposed to be witches. They are said to enter people's dwellings with the intention of bewitching the family residing there. When their tracks are discovered in the snow near a house they must be scooped up with a water-ladle and carefully turned upside down, in order to prevent evil. While doing

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 60, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

764 [562]

The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men.

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Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done in Yezo.

PUNISHMENTS.

681 [682] [695] [682]

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes his place as an honorable citizen.

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The prisoner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water, and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinuance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has supposed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Japanese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the practices of our own children.

HUNTING AND FISHING.

224 [136]

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo, which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America, are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

These fe-
rocious brutes are fearlessly attacked with such inferior weapons as the bows and arrows represented in Fig. 84. One bow in this figure was obtained from an old man at Shari, who, in a most dramatic manner, illustrated the manner of shooting bears. The bow is strung by taking the free end of the string between the teeth and drawing up the slack while the hands are employed in bending the wood. The best bows are made of the wood of *Taxus cuspidata*.

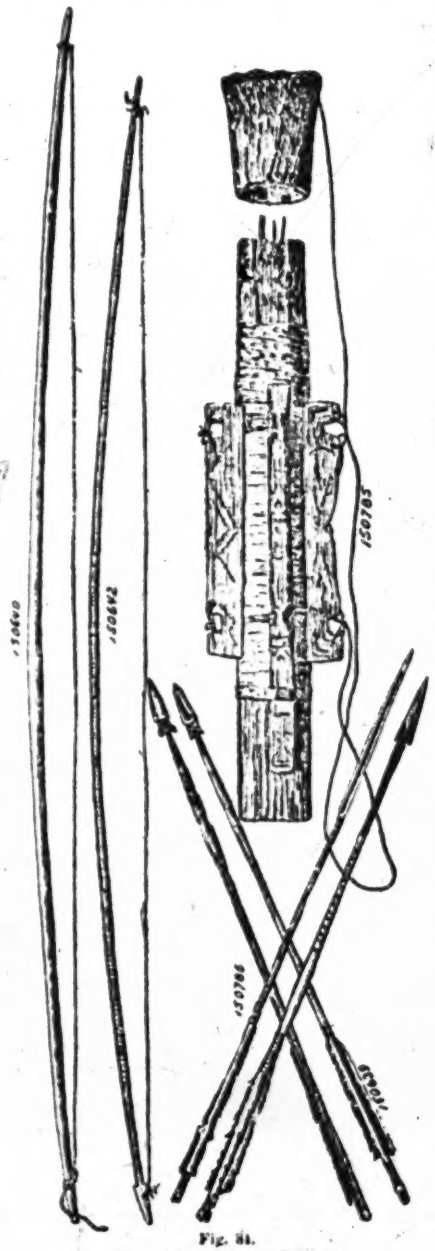

Fig. 84.
BOWS, ARROWS, AND QUIVER.

The arrows are made in different ways. Some of them are plain, straight shafts, with iron heads and feathered ends. Not long since, stone heads were in use, but now Japanese iron is hammered into heavy barbed points. Since the introduction of knives, bamboo heads have been adopted. By so cutting the bamboo that the hard cortex of the stem forms the point and edge, very excellent arrow-heads are made. I have seen an arrow-head of this kind driven from a bow into a board with great force without noticeable injury to the point. The shaft is usually made in two sections. The notched end is usually a length of reed (*Phragmites*) or of scrub bamboo, at the lower end of which the feathers are tied with fine bark fiber. This is joined to a somewhat shorter length of wood, the upper part of which tapers, and is inserted into the base of the bamboo or bone head. Such jointed arrows are shown in Fig. 84. The heads are secured with resin and bindings of bark, but they are easily detached.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

The arrows are carried in quivers, one of which is shown in the figure. The quiver is slung under the left arm by means of a cord passed over the shoulders on the same side.

The arrow release is of the simplest kind, the arrow being held between the thumb and forefinger.

Large animals, like the bear, are always hunted with poisoned arrows; hence it is not necessary that the bows should be very powerful. If the arrow only penetrates the skin it is sufficient to kill the animal. Wherever bears abound, the woods are made dangerous to travelers by the number of set-bows with poisoned arrows, so arranged that when a bear or other animal treads upon a cord, the arrow is released and the deadly shaft enters its body. A Japanese artist has represented such a device in Plate CVIII.

The preparation of arrow poisons is generally held by savage people as a secret art, which they do not readily reveal. The method of preparing the arrow poisons of the Ainos has only been made known to a single traveler, Dr. B. Scheube, who believes that his information is correct, because the accounts obtained in different localities entirely agree. Dr. Scheube's account is, in brief, as follows:

The young side roots of *Aconitum Japonicum* are usually gathered in summer and dried in the shade until fall. The roots which contain active poison become softer, while the others grow harder; apparently a process of fermentation takes place. The former, after removal of the skin, are rubbed between two stones to a pasty mass. There is no further preparation. This material is either spread directly upon the arrowheads or preserved. The poison preserves its activity for five months. Dr. Scheube adds that in every village the poison is prepared only by a few old men, not because the process of preparation is unknown to the others, but because these men have had experience in its production. Prayers, magic formulas, and the like are not recited during the preparation.

The activity of the poison is tested by placing a portion on the tongue. To insure its action, each arrow receives portions from three different preparations. According to the Ainos, a wounded bear runs at the farthest not more than 200 metres before falling dead.

Dr. Stuart Eldridge* has made some chemical and physiological investigations of this poison, which confirm the supposition that aconite is the active ingredient thereof. But this writer declares that the pulp prepared as described "is mixed with other ingredients, which I have been unable to identify, but which are probably inert, and the resulting mass is buried for a time in the earth. On removal from the earth, the poison appears as a stiff, dark, reddish-brown paste, through which fragments of woody fiber are distributed. The poison, when applied to the arrow, is mixed with a certain proportion of animal fat."

I was able to obtain two specimens of the poison, which are in

* Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan, IV, 1875–76, 78

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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the form of hard lumps.

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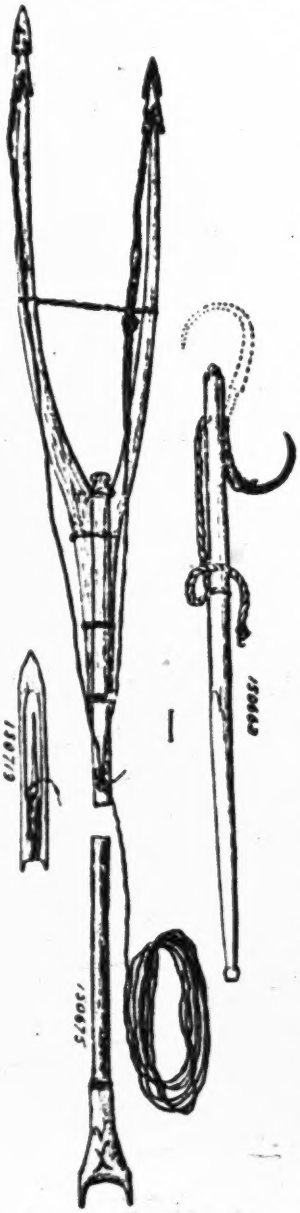

Fig. 85.

SPEARS. NEEDLE FOR MAKING FISH-NETS.

Specimens of the plant from which the poison is obtained were also collected and determined by Mr. Theo. Holm as *Aconitum Japonicum*. In some parts of the country it grows in great abundance, and the fine purple flowers are very pleasing to the eye.

Small animals are caught in rude, but rather ingenious bow traps. The bow is set in a frame, as in a crossbow. The heavy arrow-shaft is notched on the side to receive the bowstring and carries a T-head. When the trap is set, the bait is placed between the T-head and the end of the frame, in such a manner that any attempt to remove it releases the string, and the T-head comes down and securely holds the animal.

In deer-shooting they have a peculiar instrument made of bone and bamboo with teeth like a comb, with which they can imitate the cry of a deer. Concealed in ambush, the hunter thus calls the animal within range of his bow.

Fishing, as at present conducted, is mostly in the hands of the Japanese. This is particularly true of the coast fisheries. Aino settlements are occasionally to be found along the banks of the larger rivers and their important tributaries, where the most primitive devices are still in use. Perhaps the most curious of their devices is a kind of spear, which is shown in Fig. 85. This is lashed to a long shaft, and is used for spearing salmon from canoes or on the river bank. The curved gaff is made of iron. It is secured to a line passing through the spear end, and the shank rests in a groove in one side, as shown. When the fish is struck, the gaff turns over, as represented by the dotted line, and hooks into the flesh, held only by the line or strip of hide, by which the fish is pulled in. Mr. Blackiston has described the use of this spear in the following words:

They [the Ainos] are expert in the use of the spear, often striking a fish in motion as much as 3 feet under water at some yards' distance, but generally the fish is "jabbed" with-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

532
224

HUNTING SCENE, SET-BOW.

[Facing p. 470]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

126 482 *Carrying band with stick.*—The band passes over the forehead in the same manner as 150679, but the load is supported on a stick about 15 inches in length which is held horizontally across the back. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

126 *Arrow with bone head.*—This form not very much used, bamboo heads being most common. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150758

+11 *Arrow and small holder.*—The arrow of the usual form with bamboo head, poisoned for shooting bears. The holder made of leaves of scrub bamboo bound together with bark. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150759

Stone arrowheads.—From various parts of Yezo, found in the ground near the surface. Made of obsidian and chert. From three-quarters of an inch to over 2 inches in length. Probably made by the Ainos and used by them within the historic period. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150760

[278] *Arrow poison.*—Prepared from the root of the aconite plant. Used to kill bears. The poison acts very quickly, and a wounded animal drops dead a few yards from where he is struck. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150761, 150762

126 [224] *Rat trap.*—A kind of bow-trap in which the animal is caught between the arrow head and the frame of the trap. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150764

Hooked stick.—Used to hold the stew-pot over the fire. The stick is suspended from the beams overhead by means of a slender rod or a bark rope. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150767

[482] *Baby carrier.*—The band is placed around the breast instead of on the forehead, as with the Ainos. The child is carried in the sling on the back. Kurile Island natives on the Island of Shikotan, Japan, 1888. 150768

Aconite plant.—The leaves and flowers of the *Aconitum Japonicum* Thunb'g, from the roots of which the Ainos make the arrow poison. Island of Yezo, 1888. 150769

The following articles are the gift of the Sapporo Agricultural College:

Dried fish.—Salmon dried and salted. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150770

Wooden spoon.—Rudely carved handle. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150773

Wooden dish with handle.—This form not observed among the Yezo Ainos. Length, including handle, 15 inches; width, 9 inches. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150774

[415] *Bark fish tray.*—A large flat tray of bark, with the sides turned up slightly, strengthened with bamboo strips and bound with bark filaments. Length, 18 inches; width, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150775

Oblong deep dish.—Dug out of a piece of wood, with a flat projection at one end for a handle. Used as a rice bowl. Length, 12 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150776

Wooden dish.—Wooden dish of peculiar shape; one end deeply excavated, the other end more shallow, resting on two legs. (See Fig. 69.) Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150777

Japanese short sword.—An old sword, regarded as a precious treasure by the people; doubtless a family heirloom. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150778

Man's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; embroidered with cotton yarn on a blue-black cotton ground. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150779

Woman's coat.—Made of the ohiyo or elm-bark cloth; precisely like a man's coat but embroidered directly on the bark cloth with blue, red, and yellow cotton yarn. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150780

[291] *Belt.*—Made of ohiyo; rather wider than the belts of the Yezo Ainos. Length 86 inches; width 2 inches. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150781

Apron.—Made of ohiyo, with cotton embroidery. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150782

Leggins.—Made of ohiyo cloth, embroidered with cotton. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1888. 150783

Bow.—A plain bow of the form common throughout Yezo. Tsuishikari Ainos, Yezo, 1889. 150784

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

flies and black-flies, looked just like a large family of restless monkeys. They were gentle and kind—much more so than any of their more civilised brethren; and one of them, a fine old man, came forward when I came out of the hut and wished me to go and see a big yellow bear they had captured. I went, and near the man's hut, in a rough square cage made of crossed branches of trees, was Bruin grinding his teeth as we drew near. In a sing-song monotone the man told me the story of the hunt, and how the bear had been captured. Then we went from one hut to another all through the village. Yamakubiro is the name given to the huts taken collectively, but the man took good care to explain to me that one part of the village (numbering only seven houses) was called Tchiota, and the other, a short distance away, was named Yammakka. Tchiota in the Ainu language means "dead-sand," and Yammakka is "land in behind."

Yammakka has ten huts. The hut in which I had to put up was more than filthy, and I had a sort of presentiment that my landlord was a scoundrel. He saw me giving a small silver Japanese coin to a girl I had painted. From that moment I noticed his eyes were continually fixed on my waistcoat pocket, out of which I had taken the coin. However, I did not think much of that, as all Ainu are fond of beads, metals, or anything that shines. When the evening came I tried to go to sleep on the hard planks, as usual. There is undoubtedly more *board* than *lodging* about Ainu accommodation. Myriads of Taikkis, the tiny but troublesome and uninvited guests of all dirty dwellings, did me the honour to sup off the few drops of blood which remained in my veins. I owed it to a bottle of Keating's Powder that I was not carried away bodily by them. I felt cold and feverish, and having no civilised bed-clothes to cover me, I slept with my clothes on; and this the more willingly, as I felt an instinctive mistrust of my host, and I thought it was as well to be ready for any emergency.

A few salmon were hanging right over my nose. They hung low, but they smelt high. I had been given a place in the south-west corner of the hut, and my landlord retired to the north-east corner. Though this may sound very far, my host was really not more than a few feet away from me. He

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 gave a terrible squeak on the plate, and half a leg, a wing, or a carcase was fired right across the table into one's plate, if not in one's face, or on one's lap.

"*Honto taihen muskashi*"—"Really it is very difficult"—said the wit of the party, helplessly putting down his knife and fork after trying to separate the two parts of a wing. "This bird's bones have lost all their joints in the cooking."

My hosts were extremely kind, and were, besides, so clever and bright that I enjoyed their good company immensely. At the same time I gained from them valuable information as regards the neighbouring country and the Kurile Islands.

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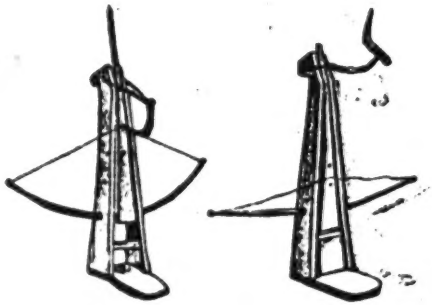

Set. Closed.

SEMI-AINU RAT TRAP.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt, inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the purpose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1 [The inau cult -- Analyst]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain in the Ainu country permanently. 114

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends, fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged a professional photographer to work under his direction, while taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition, spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately, only the last of these films reached this country. It is now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute, where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film Ethnographique et Sociologique. 114 126

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony, and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god, or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II). 114 796 [776] [825]

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249. 114 [224]

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health. Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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INTRODUCTION

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A [594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the [162] number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, 361 and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically 423 autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was [184] expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im- 796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The 621 elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the [774] coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to 825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best 796 known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu 175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[613] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further
[622] researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa*
[114] *uko kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south.

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'.

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

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BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other '*pase*' *kamui*, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shiratki kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily.

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The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally stick (*iso-pishka-ni*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to the quiver.

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If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

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True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

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A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *paze kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

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[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

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7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was, strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

[782] [845] [755]

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's
782 head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed ritually.

784 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
263 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).
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Hunting the Swordfish

226 The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry between the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

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226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (*saman-ni*) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, or out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *tapkara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

/774 cont./

841 204 777 789 755 Men who undertake long hunting expeditions almost always have a piece of such an apron with them, which also serves as a remedy for pains. In the latter case they moisten it and rub the sick spot with it.

562 All this points to the fact that among the Ainu there are still strong traces of the times when the woman played the principal part in the life of the family and of the man.

G /34 cont./
532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea."
The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the
main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes
complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird
A heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).
172 The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
532 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
825 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
[177] self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national
culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically
Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was
only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old
worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils
and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been
preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu cele-
brated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were
made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of
greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured
representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like
representations with the head of the bear all dug out from
under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize,
twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears'
heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in
pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The re-
mainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is
evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by
soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out
A figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their
[115] dress (drawing 3, a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
• [224] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar repre-
sentations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a
successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure..
A /35 contains photographs./ /36/
532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

/38 cont./

532 explain their ritual significance. However, Montandon's calling them "sticks for libation" also does not reveal the original function of these mysterious objects.

532 •224 211 171 It is interesting to compare the ikunisi with the pictographic drawings on wooden boards by the shore Chukchee and with the Eskimo carvings on objects made of bone. The Chukchee and the Eskimo use these objects - the former for the commemoration of the results of a successful hunt (representing the killed animals and the actual scenes from the hunt), the latter for "the invocation of the forces of Nature producing food." Were not the ikunisi also basically commemoration plaques on which were marked the number of animals killed in a hunt and the circumstances under which the killing was accomplished? It is typical that almost all "ikunisi" generally have simple notches (varying in number) cut in at the end of the sticks. Also encountered are sticks having only notches, with neither representations nor ornament on them.

532 In spite of the astonishing variety of the artistic variations, the Ainu ornamentation stubbornly preserves its original motives. The various phases of the artistic development of these motives help to trace out and discover their material and ideological base. The investigators who have studied the Ainu art have [114] various explanations of the content and origin of the Ainu ornamentation. In the works of Shurts, Laufer, Montandon, and especially in those of Shternberg one may come across interesting observations and hypotheses, although in some cases (Shurts and Montandon) these are not always well founded. Since in the present article I have no opportunity to analyse all the basic motives of the Ainu ornamentation described by these authors or discovered by us I shall dwell only on two, which in our opinion are most frequently encountered. Such basic motives are a string woven of bast or some other material and the twisting and interweaving snakes. (7) The motives developed on

[113] 7. The development of the form of the Ainu ornamentation from

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft
[278] for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as
[311] a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

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with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus in general had occasion to go about.

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow openings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows. The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained comparatively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over successive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2).

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 observed and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 396).

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usually known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2 metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

structure of the building itself, the kinds of the fixtures and their arrangement were similar to those at home as far as ascertained in Tokapchi and Otopuke (Fig. 1). A special window was provided facing toward the source of the river, for the purpose of taking in and out the spoils of the chase and the hunting gear (Fig. 5, c; Note 60). The hut was oriented and the fixture arranged alike to the position of the window. The structure of the Ainu hunting hut, like their home dwelling, was not merely a material shelter but also a means of maintaining social solidarity with nature.

In spring and autumn each year the hut was occupied after necessary repairs by the fixed group of hunters. The group was formed either by an individual family or by two or three families belonging to the same settlement (pp. 43 and 46). Each hunting group usually had a hut of either type to use for respective purpose (p. 45, the chart). Some groups had no bear hunting hut, in which case there was no positive activity in bear hunting. The Ainu hunters, except a few going home and back again on occasion, stayed at their hut throughout the hunting season. From this base they went round, setting spring bows and hunting with hand bows. There they dissected their spoils according to a set ritual procedure and prepared from them hides, meat and fat to be kept till the time of carrying them home. The occupants of the hut might be all males or mixed, with females doing such domestic work as cooking and so on, as was usually the case at the deer hunting hut where there were more hunters and more spoils brought in. Female helpers, however, were quite few in either case: about one at a bear hunting hut and not many more even at a deer hunting hut. They were mostly hunters' unmarried daughters or unmarried sisters, who were usually at home doing house work but were called up when spoils were more than could be skinned or carried off by the occupants themselves. The Ainu of the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys as well as those of the Mukawa valley had two huts for bear hunting, one deep in the source area of the river and another midway or comparatively near their homes, the examples of which are given in the chart in p. 45. Some Ainu inform that Ainu hunters used one or the other according to the conditions of the season; but there are also indications that they used the first for bearhunting in spring and the second in autumn.

Hunting Activities.

Deer Hunting.

The deer, Cervus nippon, was hunted in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. Autumn deer were to the Ainu as important a source of winter food as were dog salmon. In summer as well, deer roamed about in herds

11: Watanabe E-4;5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

224 221 [825] over hills and plains. The Ainu might have caught them, if they so wished, in any season. But summer was the time devoted to fishing and collecting; besides, summer meat and skins were not much valued because they believed that summer meat was not greasy enough, summer furs did not keep warmth well and both were more easily infested by vermins (cf. INUKAI, 1943, pp. 16-7); usually neither deer nor bear was chased in summer. As an item of [262] [237] [439] food, venison was of greater importance than bear flesh. Deer skins were partly used for their own clothing and partly as articles of barter with Japanese traders; but at least in Otopuke and upper Takapchi the stock left was dumped every summer, before or after being spoiled by vermins, with a simple ritual procedure by each household (Fig. 1). There were no ritual activities worth mentioning here in relation to deer hunting.

Autumn hunting.—Autumn hunting, *chuk iramande*, extending in reality to winter, was divided into two successive phases, the first characterized by field hunting and the second by hill hunting.

Field hunting.—This phase started in *Urepok chup* or around October when the fur of the animal began to change for the winter[31] and the meat to get greasy (p. 54). The Ainu set spring bows and poisoned arrows to the deer fence on the fields at the foot of a hill or on the gentle slope of a lower hill and frequented the fence usually from their homes in the *kotan* while being engaged in salmon fishing in the river (Map 2; Fig. 8). On the way to and from the fence they also hunted deer with hand bows and arrows. Hunting with hand bows came into full swing with the arrival of the mating time (Note 31). Mating of deer took place most frequently on and around marshy tracts, where, usually not far from the Ainu settlements, the animal was decoyed by the deer whistle, *irektep*, to be shot with hand bows and poisoned arrows. Field hunting continued until the base snow came to cover the food plants for the deer, which then retreated from the fields to their winter quarter[32]. Of the two autumn phases, the first one of field hunting was the more important, for in this period more or less sufficient quantity of venison could be secured to last the winter.

Hill hunting.—When the base snow came and all the deer tracks had disappeared from the field, the animals all gathered at their winter quarters, where they stayed till the spring (p. 53). Deer in Hokkaido pass the winter in sunny areas with less snow and with sufficient food plants such as bamboo-grass (Note 32). So far as the areas surveyed by the present writer are con- [133] [361] cerned, the winter quarters lay as a rule on hills which bordered the valley of the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, that is, on slopes stretching under mountain ridges and wooded with evergreens, chiefly firs; of these the distinctive ones, which were named so-and-so *rikoruya* or *yuk rya ushi* by the Ainu, were found on hills well wooded usually with firs, chiefly hup, Abies sachalinensij.[33]

11: Watanabe E-4,S (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

hup, Abies sachalinensis[30]. In the second phase the scene[1] of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[31]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1, [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

bear[34]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting. Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Japanese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so important as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[35].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunting was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by the Ainu are given[39].

Food plants:

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
1. Eha	Falcata japonica	Roadside and grassy meadows	Legumina under the ground
2. Mukl	Codonopsis ussuriensis	Woods and grassy meadows	Roots

[p.43]

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 476 593 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other families, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale: usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gathersng[1] activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category [602] of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p. 16) and/or their families. These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.

224 476 [555]

476 621 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1, [Errata: the word "food-gathersng" should read "food-gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

There could not be any cooperative gathering work of the local group as a whole except when it consisted of a very few families and formed a single *kotan*. In the Otopuke valley the local group split themselves into several *kotan*, the upstream one with 10 families into 6 *kotan*, the downstream one with 8 families into 4 *kotan*, each of which was a single cooperative unit consisting of 1-3 families. In the Tokapchi valley the *kotan* were larger on an average than those in the Otopuke valley in terms of the number of member families; of the two *kotan* analysed, Nitmap with 7 households and Pipaushi with 6 households. had been divided into several cooperative units. This was also the case with the single-settlement local group with ca. 10 households in Tonika of the Azuma valley in the 1880's. For example, Nitmap group, a single-settlement local group with 7 households, was divided into 4 units in either of cooperative deer hunting or bear hunting and into 3 1 units in various kinds of cooperative fishing activities. Here attention must be drawn to the fact that the membership of the cooperative group might have been almost the same in the same type of cooperative work but varied to some extent in the different types of work. Factors responsible for the formation or fission of the cooperative group could not be analysed though some of them might be vaguely suggested in a few actual cases in Notes 41 and 42.

So far as gathering activities are concerned, no cooperative unit consisting of the members of more than one settlement has been known among the Ainu, though there were rare cases as, for instance, of an individual joining a cooperative group outside his settlement to which his relative belonged, to take part in such single work as bear hunting or bag-net fishing. One of the actual examples is given in Note 42. In other activities than gathering, cooperation on the largest scale was made in the setting up of the roof of a house in house-building, which required a number of hands at one time. But even in this work, cooperation remained within one local group (p. 12).

In hunting, men played the leading part doing decisive work. It is true that women occasionally hunted deer with a rope or club, helped by hunting dogs, but it was a taboo for Ainu women to use bow and arrow which constituted the major weapon of the people. In spring and autumn, men of each cooperative hunting group were divided into two parties, the bear hunting party consisting of younger and more active hunters and the deer hunting party of older and less able men. The autumn bear-party was generally smaller in size than the spring one, for in that season deer hunting and dog salmon fishing were of special importance for securing winter foods. It is to be noted that at times even the deer party hunted bears if they found any, but their hunting fields were more suited to deer hunts, bears living more sparsely there Fig. 8. And even the party that had gone after bears, if

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Cooperative Groups in Nitmap at ca. 1885[41]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting: Group	Bear Hunting: Location of Hut	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Group	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Location of Deer-Fence	Deer Hunting: Hunting in Winter Quarter: Group	Deer Hunting: Hunting in Winter Quarter: Location of Hut	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Main Stream: Group	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Main Stream: Location of Weir	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Tributary: Group	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Tributary: Location of Hut	Bag-Net Fishing Group
No. 1	Shiokoro (H) Shudea (W) 4 Sons 2 Daughters	(A) A	Nipesho Iwotonraushi	a	On the way from Nitmap to Shintoku	Groups unidentifiable: Half of the hunters went to the upper courses of the Panke- and Penke-kinaushi glens, the rest to the upper courses of the Shintoko and Otash glens.		I	Susutaiful: Upstream	1	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	—
No. 2	Shurunke (H) Tutanomat (W) 4 Sons 3 Daughters	(B)	Tonuk-ariushpet Pishikachinai	b	On the way from Nitmap to Pekerepet			II	Susutaiful: Downstream	2	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	X
No. 3	Zarashi (H) Kouante (W) 4 Sons 5 Daughters	C C	Pannak-sahoro Shinoman-sahoro	c	Penkechin			III	Susutaiful: Midstream	3	On the Sohorun, between Shintuko and Otash	Y
No. 4	Shukemon (Ww) Aniainu (S) Ukae (S) 4 Daughters	B A		d d				II		2	(Later an independent group; see Note 41)	X
No. 5	Kapkotuk (H) Sakaramat (W) 1 Son	(D) B		d d	Penkechin			II		4	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	Z
No. 6	Osareainu (H) Katunun (W) Tuishiruk (S) Ikintean (S) Katutaro (S) 1 Daughter	D D D —	Yukktorashi Certain area up the Sorapchi	d d d ?				II		2		X
No. 7	Retunun (Uw)							III		4		Z

H: Husband, W: Wife, Ww: Widow Uw: Unmarried Woman, Um: Unmarried Man,
S: Son, (A): Formerly Group A but no longer hunting.

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Cooperative Groups in Pipaushi at ca. 1885[42].

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Weir Fishing	
		Group	Location of Hut	Tributary	
				Group	Location of Hut
No. 1	Chiokatupa (H) Tononkare (W) Uturusote (S) 1 Daughter	(A) A	Kutteki-un-pet farther up the Ochiai	1	On the Sahorun a little below Shimizu.
No. 2	Haukiainu (H) Katesan (W) Pepenouk (S) 1 Daughter	A		2	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun.
No. 3	Sayuturuk (Um) 2 Sisters (Uw)	A		?	
No. 4	Moirenise (Ww) 1 Daughter (Uw)			2	
No. 5	Isontomam (H) Ueash (W) Children	B	Sohshipet up the Saru river.	1	
No. 6	Chipreka (H) Wife (name unknown) 1 Son (Daughters not identified)	C	Unidentifiable	3	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun

(Legend: See the chart for Nitmap)

unfavourably circumstanced, would return to their *kotan* to engage in deer hunting and salmon fishing. The leader, *shie sapane kuru*, of each party was generally its oldest member, and was responsible for all technical practices on the hunting sites, for guidance and supervision in ritual observances, and for the disposal and distribution of the game and catch.

In fishing, both men and women had an important part to play, but the chief techniques of men differed from those of women. Generally, men took to spearing and women to trapping. Among the major fishing gear, which were fish-spear, basket trap, bagnet and weir, the first two were made and used by each family, while the other two were constructed and manipulated by cooperative groups. The local groups on the upper Tokapchi made a seasonal trip annually to fixed fishing sites in smaller streams to catch cherry salmon, where it was their custom for each cooperative group to form a unit and live in one hut to cooperate in weir and bagnet fishing (p. 45; Map 2). The construction and manipulation of those bagnets and weir were placed under the scheme and guidance of one wise man among the members of the group, usually the oldest man. Cooperation was made also in other work

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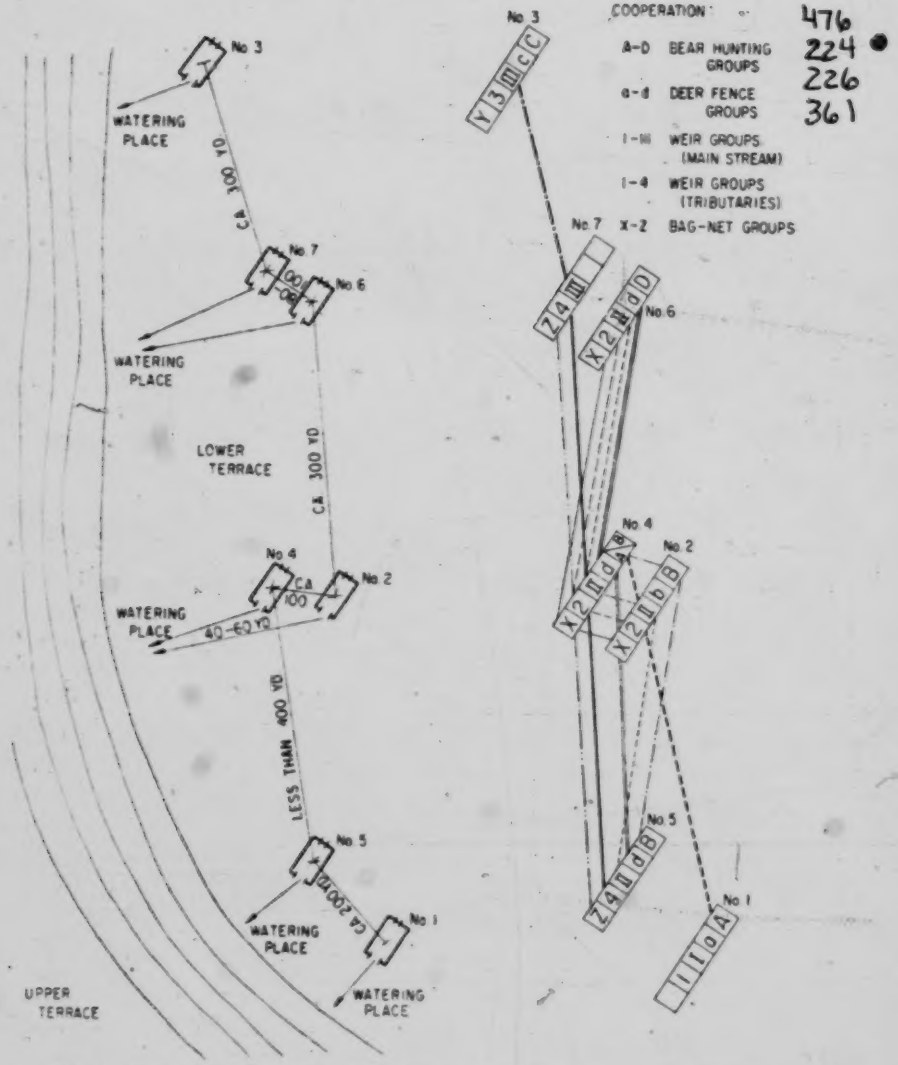

Fig. 6. Spatial arrangement of Ainu dwelling houses in Nitmap in the former half of the 1880's and cooperation between the households. The house numbers correspond to those given in the chart on cooperative groups in Nitmap in Chapter IV. The numbers are given in order of birth among the household heads who are full siblings.

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settlement, Tonika, another local group upstream. The people of Moseushi, a local group on the Shikaripet tributary to the Tokapchi, fished dog salmon in and around their own spawning grounds; however, as their catch there was not sufficient for all their need, some of the younger members used to go fishing in the main stream of the Tokapchi near Nitmap. Some of the young members of Moseushi local group, like Retapka and Takanru, children of Ranketuk of Moseushi, and Tunurawe, son of Kanuran, "had so many brothers that they could not get enough fish for them all in the Shikaripet but had to go fishing in the main Tokapchi as well." Every season they built temporary huts on the bank opposite the Nitmap settlement and engaged freely in spearing and basket-trap fishing in and around the small spawning grounds outside the named spawning grounds controlled by the Nitmap group. For cherry salmon fishing in the river along which Ainu settlements were distributed, the area covered by the settlement members fell in roughly with that for the dog salmon. Most members of each settlement did not usually go so far as to the area near the neighbouring settlement. Some bag-net parties from the Tonika settlement of the Azuma river group used to go down for cherry salmon fishing to the area a little beyond the next settlement, Azuma *kotan*. Cherry salmon fishing in smaller tributaries or glens, however, was not confined to around each settlement. For instance, such local groups on the upper Tokapchi as Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi and Sanenkoro, fished for cherry salmon centring on the glens of the Sahorun, one of the smaller tributaries of the Tokapchi; the four settlement groups belonging to the upper local group of Moseushi on the Shikaripet, fished for them in the glens around the Sarunnai, a small tributary to the Shikaripet.

Hunting Areas.

For deer hunting, fences set with spring bows were usually erected at the foot of hillsides near their own settlement, though some families such as the groups B and C of Nitmap (p. 45) on the upper Tokapchi built their fences farther away than the others and the hunters migrated every season to their huts erected near the constructions (p. 32; May 2). The ground for deer hunting with the spring bow near the game's wintering quarters, usually lay on the upper reaches of some tributary near their settlement. Both fences and hunting grounds near the wintering quarters of the game for each settlement group in Tokapchi and Azuma and fences in Otopke were usually found distributed around their settlements, although the area covered by one settlement group sometimes overlapped to some extent with that of an adjacent settlement group: such an overlapping may be seen between Nitmap and Kuttaraushi groups, as shown on Map 2. There is another case like the Shikot river group from the settlements of which hunting parties migrated each

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224 season to concentrate on one region of its territory, a favourite wintering
311 quarter of deer on the Appenai.

Deer hunting with the hand bow was conducted also on and around the same sites near each settlement as fence-grounds and wintering quarters. They were seldom carried out into the area customarily covered by neighbouring settlement members. This meant the absence of such necessity, although any hunter with hand bow, like spearing fishermen with their movable instrument, might with justification enter an area covered by members of a nearby settlement. An exceptional case may be cited with the members of the settlement of the upper local group in Otopuke who concentrated on the area near the Wop settlement, where, alongside with local members, they chased with hand bow the deer gathering on the marshy grounds for mating.

Organized bear hunting was conducted by every river group on the uppermost reaches of the river, that is, the inmost recesses of the mountainous region where were hibernation centres of the bear. It was customary with every river group to send out their hunters in seasonal migration concentrating on the area. This does not always mean that every local group of the river group sent some bear hunter or hunters to the area. Among the Azuma river group, bear hunting parties were sent from two interior local groups, Tonika and Azuma, to the Shoruma and its surrounding area on the uppermost reaches of the river, but there is no evidence for any bear hunting party from the coastal local group, Spun, who it is said had no bear hunters. Of the Otopuke river group, the upper local group periodically sent their bear hunters to the riverhead area but the lower one did not, though some members of the latter group occasionally hunted bears while engaging in deer hunts on the neighbouring hillsides. As for the Tokapchi river group, the upper local groups, at least the uppermost *shine itokpa* group, had a number of bear hunters whose activities covered the riverhead area every season, while the local groups in the middle course had less bear hunters, who to all appearances went out in search of bears to the interior territory of the Satnai river group or that of the Otopuke river group. A few of the bear hunters from Pipaushi and Sanenkoro, both the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, went out of their river group territory into the area around the Sohshupet in the interior territory of the Saru river group, and some bear hunters from Kuttarashi, another local group on the upper Tokapchi, to an area on the upper reaches of the Sorapchi, an extention of the Tokapchi river group territory on the side of the Ishikari river. No information is available for the lower local groups on the Tokapchi. Information from Shikot, Mukawa and Saru shows that bear hunters of the generation before my informants, even those from some lower local groups, went to the areas on the uppermost reaches of their own river.

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619 Actions for the Maintainance of the River Group Territory.

628 All Ainu territories were defended and protected for the natural resources
423 found therein. Protection of a river group territory and guarding it from trespasses, as will be seen later, comprised the following practice: reporting by any one of his or her passing or coming to a gathering site to the nearest settlement; keeping watch by each local group member over any outsider, questioning him or her about suspicious conduct and reporting it to the headman; and checking by the headman of all information brought in by his group members and keeping contact by him with other headmen in the same river area. The scheme thus functioned with cooperation of the local group members and a cooperation between headmen in the same valley. It must be noted, however, that these actions for defending the river group territory against trespasses were no specialized occupation of specific personnel but were merely side work performed by each Ainu while engaging in regular manual work. As a result, the extent of effective vigilance seems to have been confined to the area covered habitually in daily routine. It may be assumed therefore that in large but sparsely populated river valleys like the Tokapchi, especially in the mountainous regions, scattered areas occured which were seldom or rarely visited by any Ainu at ordinary times, areas belonging to a river group but left unwatched and unprotected against trespassing.

619 The activities of a river group in defence of their river basin were inte-
224 grated into the following customs. Every Ainu, before going on a hunt, ob-
628 served a joint ritual with fellow hunters at the headman's, to whom he made
423 known his general plans and his intended sites for setting spring bows in particular, making at the same time necessary arrangements with other hunters. If the man was going for hand-bow hunting into a mountain on his river course unfamiliar to him or not habitually covered by his fellow members, the custom was for him to call on the headman whose people knew the area well, obtained information about it and the distribution of spring-bow sites in particular, and made his plans known to him. It was also the custom for any one, when hunting in an area in the same valley covered by members of another local group, to make a salutary report to some one of the group concerned, if not to the headman. It was done by way of report or notice rather than for asking formal permission from the headman. If the hunter wished to set spring bows, he should never fail to give detailed information to the headman and get his full understanding beforehand. As regards fish-
619 ing in the open area within his river group territory, it was customary for
628 every fisherman going to a site habitually covered or exploited by another
423 group to report to the settlement of that group either on his way there or
[226] back. Otherwise, it might cause the people of the settlement to be 'troubled

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heart of the mountains, or *nupuri noshiki koru kamui*, *kamui* who owns the centre of the mountains, is believed to be the big bear-god who lives in a large house on the lofty mountain top at the riverhead[64]. In Tokapchi, the abode was believed to be on the summit of *Optateshke nupuri*, Optateshke mountain, in Otopuke on the top of *Otopuke nupuri*, and in Azuma on that of Mt. Yubari.

c The headman is never known to move outside of its abode to be seen by the Ainu; but in spring, on its orders, its people put on the bear's form ready for their visits to the Ainu.

d When they go, they take with them bear meat to give to the Ainu for meals. When they set out of their land, the headman gives notice to the fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, who resides in each Ainu house.

e The messenger of the fire-spirit is the bear hound, *riep kamui*, creeping *kamui*, or *iso itak kamui*, *kamui* who calls the bear-spirit, who conducts the Ainu to meet the visitor. The bear, then, is not hunted by the Ainu; it comes to visit them.

f When the ursine visitor arrives, it enters the hunter's house by the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, presenting its host with the bearskin and the bear meat it brings. In return it receives all the due hospitality for an honoured guest. After accepting the treasured *inau*, shaved wooden stick, the visitor, again in human form, goes back to the riverhead to his headman[65].

g On its return home the spirit of the bear is received by the headman and its fellow people, who all share with it the gift brought back from the Ainu.

h If the bear has been treated with due attention, the headman will be pleased to send more of its people to visit the same host again next year.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to the Brown Bear.

Mention has already been made in Chapters III and IV that in Hokkaido the hibernation centres of bears as recognized by the Ainu lay chiefly distributed in the mountains at the source areas of the rivers and that local groups more upstream and nearer to the hibernation centres showed greater enthusiasm in organized bear hunting than those farther away (pp. 37 and 47). It follows that more cubs were captured annually by those living more upstream and maintaining more bear hunters, while some of those groups more downstream and with less bear hunters seem to have found themselves occasionally short of cubs to bring up for ritual killing.

When cubs taken were brought in by each hunting party, they were either allotted for rearing among the member families, as in the case of Tokapchi, Kushiro, Saru and Azuma areas, or taken on in one lot by the leader's family, all the others contributing necessary feed, as was the case in

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175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470–472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKA-
[421] KURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers.
[224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and
[226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining
175 undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged
648 the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.
241
177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Jap-
[113] anese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486–491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857–58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7),
177
[10]

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during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosanio*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basho" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tabacco, rice and salt. The

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(33) About the wintering quarters of the deer.—Any Ainu informant from any district will testify that wintering quarters of the deer, of which there were many sizes, were found not on the level plain but on the hills, generally in places sheltered by evergreens, mostly firs, where the snow was never so deep as to make it difficult for the animal to find bamboo-grass and other food during winter; that Ainu huts for deer-hunting were erected near those wintering quarters. It must be noted, however, that not all their huts and their hunting grounds occurred near those specific quarters which bore the title. It seems that *rikoruya* or *yuk ria ushi*, as some wintering centres were specifically named, were relatively large-scaled. Apparently, they were not many in any river valley. The Ainu word '*rikoruya*', meaning 'wintering place of deer', is preserved to this day in some place-names (INUKAI, 1952, p. 10).

The writer's investigation shows that on the upper Tokapchi there existed five such named wintering places; two on the Panke Nikoro glen (*Panke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Panke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*), two others on the Penke Nikoro glen (*Penke Nikoro opashi an rikoruya* and *Penke Nikoro okimun an rikoruya*) and another on the Pennai (or Penkenai) glen (*Pennai an rikoruya*). These five were the deer-hunting grounds of the people of Kuttarashi, the uppermost settlement on the river course. The huts for mountain hunting of deer in winter belonging to the cooperative groups of Nitmap, were found in the Shintoko, Penke Otash, Panke Kinaushi and Penke Kinaushi glens, all situated near wintering centres. But of all these only Penke Kinaushi and Panke Kinaushi, where there were dense growths of firs, had each a *rikoruya*, there being none in the other dales more sparsely wooded by the trees. On the Otopuke there could be identified only three '*yuk ria ushi*', named *Nukanan etoko yuk ria ushi*, *Kumaneshiri ebakike yuk ria ushi* and *Seta etoko yuk ria ushi*, respectively. All these were in the hills thickly wooded by firs. As there were no other hills to speak of, people of the whole river course, as it is said, went for deer hunting in the hills mostly in these areas. It seems, however, that of these three the uppermost Kumaneshiri shows no trace of having been developed by any other group than that of the uppermost settlement. In fact, there were other nameless centres utilized along with the so-called '*ria ushi*' as in the Nukapira glen. The examples given above will be sufficient to show that Ainu huts and grounds for deer hunting were never restricted to the major wintering quarters specifically titled '*rikoruya*' or '*yuk ria ushi*', but that they were established in nameless centres near each settlement as well, so long as they could satisfy the need of the group concerned.

(34) Another methods of deer hunting.—That the commonest method of deer

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224 hunting was by use of arrows poisoned with aconite, whether for hand-bow or spring-bow, is confirmed by a study of INUKAI (INUKAI, 1952). He reports also of a mass technique employed by hunters working together, or driving a deer herd by using dogs down a precipice and then clubbing them to death, and another of capturing the game after driving them into a lake or the sea. Setting the noose on a trail was also practised in some areas, but this does not seem to have been common.

136 35) The species Ursus arctos are distributed over Hokkaido, the Kurile Islands excluding the middle part, Sakhalin, Kamchatka, the Maritime Provinces, northern Manchuria, Siberia and even Europe. Some of the brown bears in Hokkaido reach as large as 2 ms. or more in length and 300 to 400 kgs. in weight (INUKAI, 1933, p. 57).

36) Ursus arctos of Hokkaido.—Its ethology and ecology concerning Ainu hunting will be summarized from zoological descriptions given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933 and 1934) as follows.

a) When the snow on the lower damp places begins to melt and the surface of the ground begins to appear in spring, bears come out of their dens one after another even though the snow still remains on the mountains. There are some fluctuations in different areas and in different years; however, in any case, they begin to leave their hibernation dens in late March and are mostly out already by the end of May (HATTA, 1911, p. 34) or by mid-May (INUKAI, 1933, p. 63). At about the time their winter fur turns into summer fur (ibid.).

b) When the base snow reaches 2 or 3 inches deep, every bear retreats into a den. In most years and areas, the base snow forms in Hokkaido between mid-November and mid-December (HATTA, p. 35). It is also reported that most bears start hibernation in November and there is a tendency of bears with cubs or in pregnancy retreating earlier than others (INUKAI, 1933, p. 59). INUKAI states that their winter fur begins to turn into summer fur about mid-May and the summer fur back into winter fur in November (ibid., p. 63).

c) Bears, excluding cubs, usually hibernate each in a separate den (HATTA, 1911, p. 36; INUKAI, p. 63). The cubs are born in the dens in January (ibid., p. 37) or during the period from January to March (INUKAI, 1933, p. 64). In most cases, the number of cubs at one birth is 2 (HATTA, 1911, p. 37) or 1-2 (INUKAI, 1933, p. 64).

d) Usually the dens are natural caves. However, holes under the roots of big trees, or under rocks, or in the earth are also utilized (HATTA, p. 35). There is also contrary information that most bears dig the holes themselves though some make use of natural caves or holes of big trees (INUKAI, 1933,

[p.133]

IV

159 592 41) Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-operative activities among them.

224 Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] [648] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

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Zarashi and his family.—Zarashi and his first son Konishikupa were both superior bear-hunters; his second son Zanrura and the third Repani also hunted bears, though the last-named was not very skilful in the art. They formed a group of themselves for hunting both bears and deer. For deer-hunting they went to stay at a hut at relatively distant Penkechin on the Shikaripet and chased deer of the plain by means of a fence erected near-by, while some of the male hands went to their mountain hut for bear-hunts. There are indications, though not very definite, that during the deer season in the hills some of Zarashi's sons went with those of Shurunke to the wintering centre of the animal on the Kinaushi glen. For the cherry-salmon weir-fishing in the main stream they were joined by Retunun who lived alone; for that in the glens they worked all by themselves.

Shukemon and her family.—Shukemon's husband had died when her children were still very young. Her eldest son Aniainu, who had always followed Sankur, eldest son of Shurunke, in his bear-hunts, had now become his fellow hunter. Her second son Ukae had in a like manner become associated with Itomochara, second son of Shiokoro. In the matter of deer-fence hunting her family associated themselves with those of Kapkotuk and Osareainu, her sons and daughters helping the others in building and maintaining the fence. Actually her family seldom used the construction themselves; instead Kapkotuk and others brought to them a portion of their take. On such occasions Shukemon's family offered some dog-salmon, saying that 'they must give some fish in return for the flesh received.' In the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for that in the glens of the Sahorun they used to work, while the children were young, with Shurunke's and Osareainu's families staying with them at a fishing hut. Since the children had grown up, they formed a group by themselves with their own hut and weir. They built no peep-fishing hut.

Kapkotuk and his family.—Kapkotuk, former associate of Osareainu in bear-hunting, was too weak now to go hunting the beast. His only son Ukainotte had become by his own request an associate of Sankur, the superior bear-hunter. Kapkotuk himself, though he no longer hunted bears, did some deer-hunting. In cooperation with Osareainu and his family, he and his children occupied themselves busily with work at a deer-fence two miles and a half long which it took them nearly a whole day to go checking round. Kaptotuk speared fish as well as anyone in Nitmap and all his family were good at fishing which they liked. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Shukemon and Osareainu;

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159 for that in the cherry salmon fishing on the Sahorun they and the Retununs
592 formed a cooperative group.

224 Osareainu and his family.—Osareainu was known as a good bear-hunter but
476 his young sons had had little more than two or three years of bear-hunting
226 experience. For hunting deer they cooperated with Kapkotuk's family, staying all autumn at a hut in Penkechin by the Shikaripet working at the fence. Even when Osareainu was away, his sons did the work. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the aforesaid two families and that of Shurunke; for cherry salmon fishing in the glens of the Sahorun they formed a cooperative group with the last-named and the Shukemons alone. Katunum, wife of Osareainu, was among the best women spearers of Nitmap, ranking with Retunun, Kasamushi, daughter of Shiokoro, and Inokare, daughter of Shurunke; in fact, her skill equalled many men's. Osareainu himself was not very enthusiastic; he never built a peep-fishing hut for catching dog-salmon.

159 42 Information concerning cooperative activities among member families
592 of Pipaushi local group.

224 Chiokatupa and his family.—Chiokatupa, a traditional headman and a great
476 hunter in his day, was too old now to go hunting. His son Uturusote, who did some hill-hunting of deer in early winter, seldom went on an autumn bear-hunting expedition because he had to go to the coast for service at some Japanese fishing ground. But when he did, he went in company with Sayuturuk, son of Haukiainu. Chiokatupa's family never grew millet and other cereals; for trout-fishing in the glen, unlike other families, they all migrated to a fishing-hut on the Sahorun river.

Haukiainu and his family.—Haukiainu was a bear-hunter and the best hand at spearing in all Pipaushi. Sayuturuk, son by his former wife, also hunted bears.

Chipreka and his family.—Chipreka did no bear hunting himself; his only son had grown enough to hunt both bears and deer. Always cooperating with this family in hunting and fishing was his younger brother Kutsamainu; they formed a group independent of other families in Pipaushi. Kutsamainu lived alone at the next settlement Kumaushi where his younger sister Usa-
224 shikun had a home. Usashikun's two sons, Ukanotte and Saimatte, and her daughter Sakemonka formed by themselves a bag-netting group. They often went cherry salmon fishing to glens of the Sahorun not far from Kumaushi, where parties from Pipaushi and Nitmap fished cherry salmon staying at fishing huts.

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Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer, when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them.

(43) Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954).

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group.

(44) 1. Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2).

2. Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

(53) It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kit un utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, however, the practice of sea-fishing.

Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

Yanke tomari and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Shikot, with *shiri koru kamui* and *wakka ushi kamui*, by Hachiro Kurokawa and Manjiro Hiramura, of Saru, with bear-spirits, and again by Kentaro Yoshimura, of Azuma, with bear-spirits and probably *wakkaushi kamui*. A published material refers to it as standing in Saru for *hashi inau koro kamui* i.e. *kamui* in the shape of a certain bird) and *shirampa kamui* (NATORI, 1941, p. 77).

Referring to the dwelling place assigned to *kotan koru kamui* of village-owning *kamui*, YOSHIDA quotes an old Tokapchi Ainu as saying: "In Satnai (i.e. Mt. Satnai at the head of the river Satnai—present writer) and Nupkaushi (i.e. Mt. Nupkaushi on the border of Otopuke *iworu*—present writer) there dwells in each a *kotan koru kamui*: in Satnai the *kamui* of the people of Satnai and in Nupkaushi that of the people of Otopuke" (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 154). An old Saru Ainu from Porosaru *kotan* informs that in his *kotan* "people offer *inau* and wine to Poroshiri (i.e. Mt. Poroshiri, recognized by Ainu as the head of the river Saru—present writer) as held to be the place where lives the *kotan koru kamui*" (YOSHIDA, 1957, p. 57). The only information available concerning the chief of water-spirits has been quoted from Mituoka in Note 59. For a belief in the guardian *kamui* of a district or land dwelling in the water-head mountain of a river along which the natives lived, see a quotation from YOSHIDA in Note 59.

823 192 [776] 58) *Iworu* as a dale basin and the hunting territory.—The word *iworu*, rather than being a general term, is more usually a particular term to denote the basin of an actual river, *pet*, or dale, *nai*. As viewed by the Ainu, a river- or dale-basin has two aspects, as a geographical area and as a field of activity for associated nature-spirits. The designation of a river basin was made by the name of the *pet*, as, for instance, 'Otopuke *iworu*'. Similarly, when the term was applied to a dale basin, the name of the dale came first, as 'Wop *iworu*'. In practice the term was used in connection with hunting activities, as, for example, "I am going to Wop *iworu*", "Deer are plentiful in Nitatnai *iworu*", or "Wop *iworu hutne*, the narrows of the Wop valley".

192 ● 224 Many Ainus, when asked what the *iworu* is, answer that it is a hunting ground, for the following reason. Their hunting lodge, *tramande chise* or *kucha chise*, was invariably found in some dale, *nai*, with the whole of its upper area as *tramande* (hunting) *ushi* (site or place) or *ku ari* (set with bows) *ushi* of the occupants. It will be seen that their hunting ground lay always in some particular dale or *iworu*. In case of some hunting ritual or dispute with outsiders over a hunting ground, reference was made by the name of the representative elder of the hunting group concerned or by the name of the territorial group to which the hunting group belonged, as 'So-and-so's *iworu*' or '*iworu* under such and such people's control'. It must be noted

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group: To cite just an example, the *ku ari ushi* of a hunting group—Zarashi and his sons—of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (*to own*) *iworu*', '*ku*(*I*) *kor iworu*', 'Nitmap (name of the settlement) *un* (*to be at*) *utar* (*people*) *kor iworu*', and 'Tokapchi (*shipet* name) *un utar kor iworu*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance.

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *iworu* as a river basin and the *iworu* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *iworu* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136).

59 The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement.

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river, Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varys according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper

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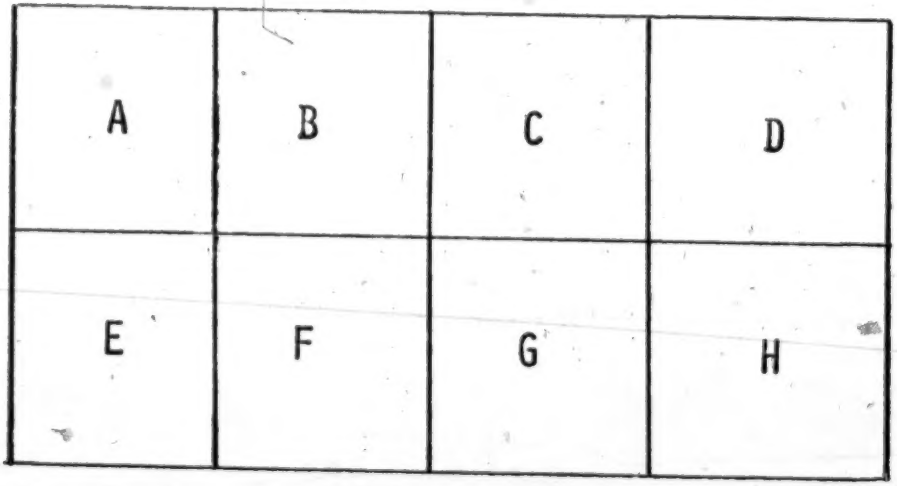
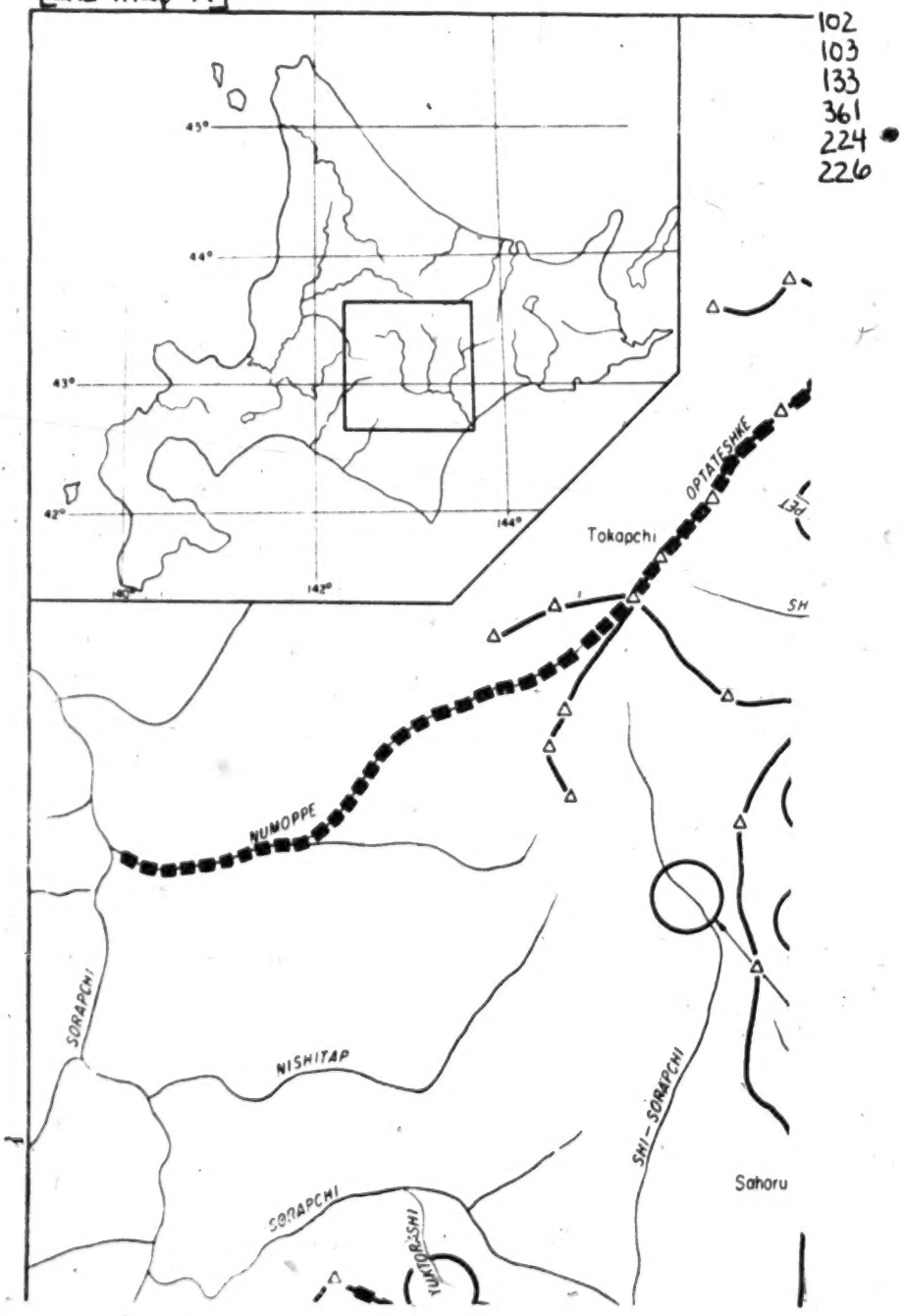
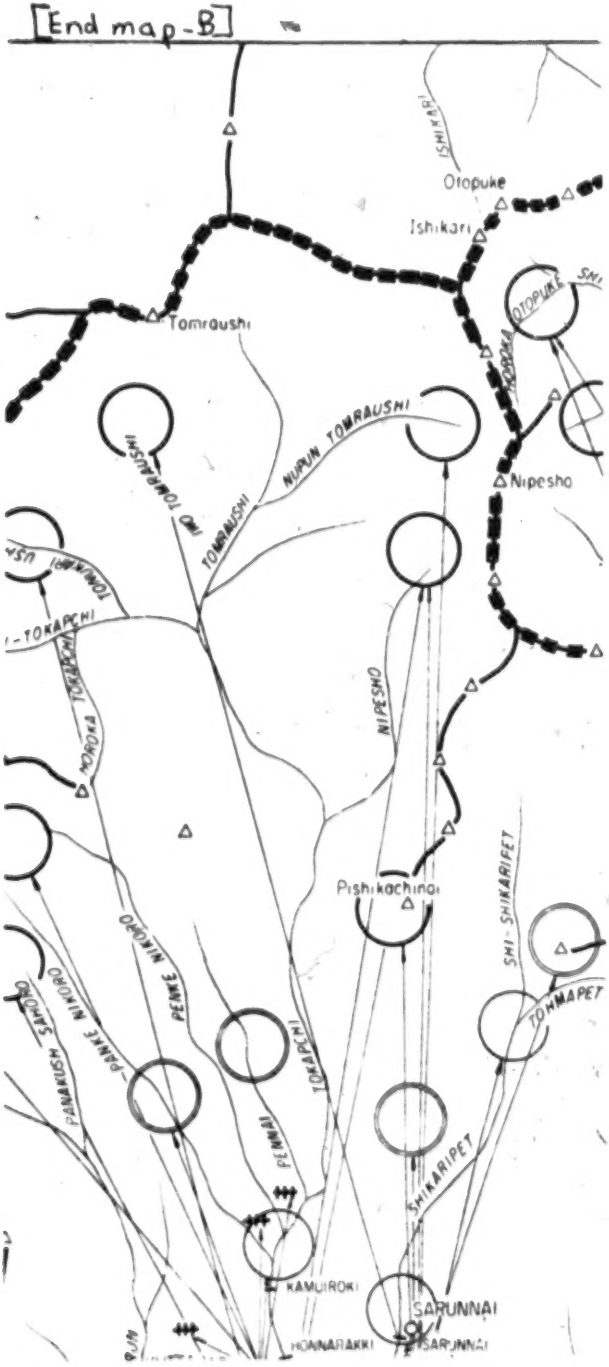


Chart of Positions of End Map
[Facing End Map]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-A]




[End map-B]
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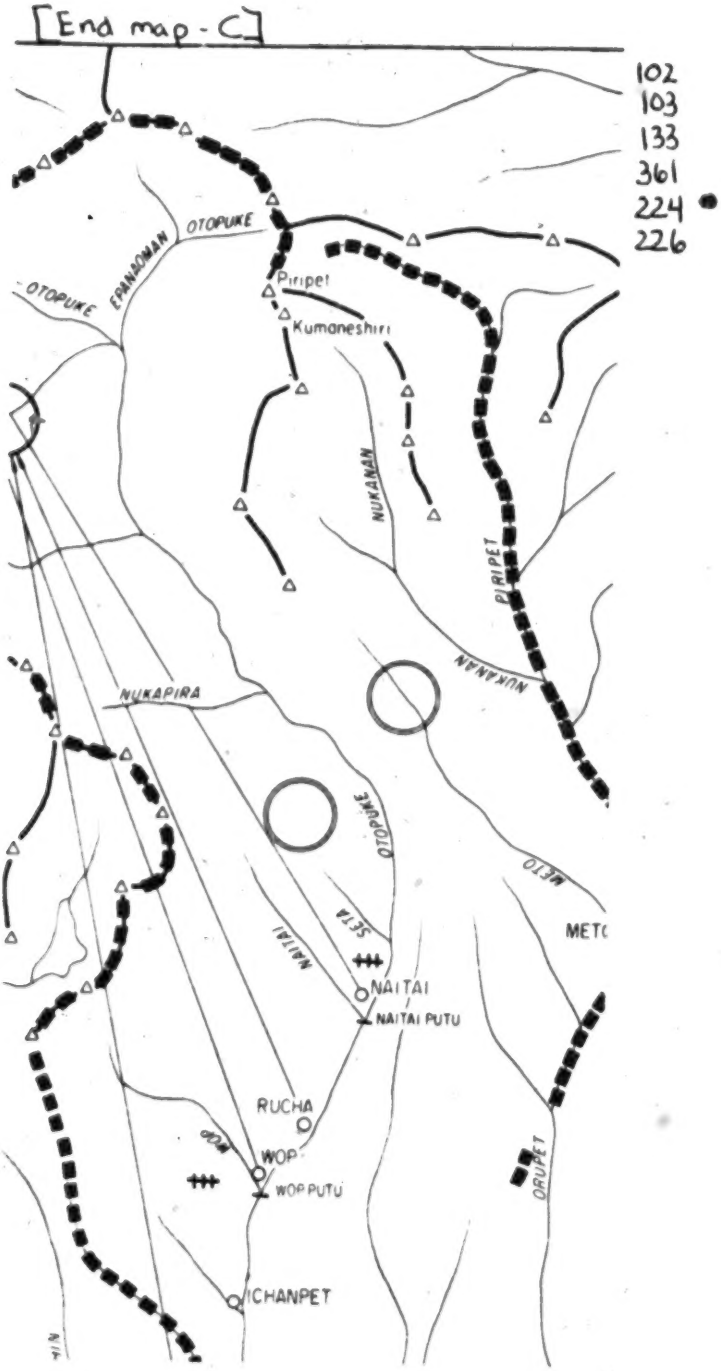
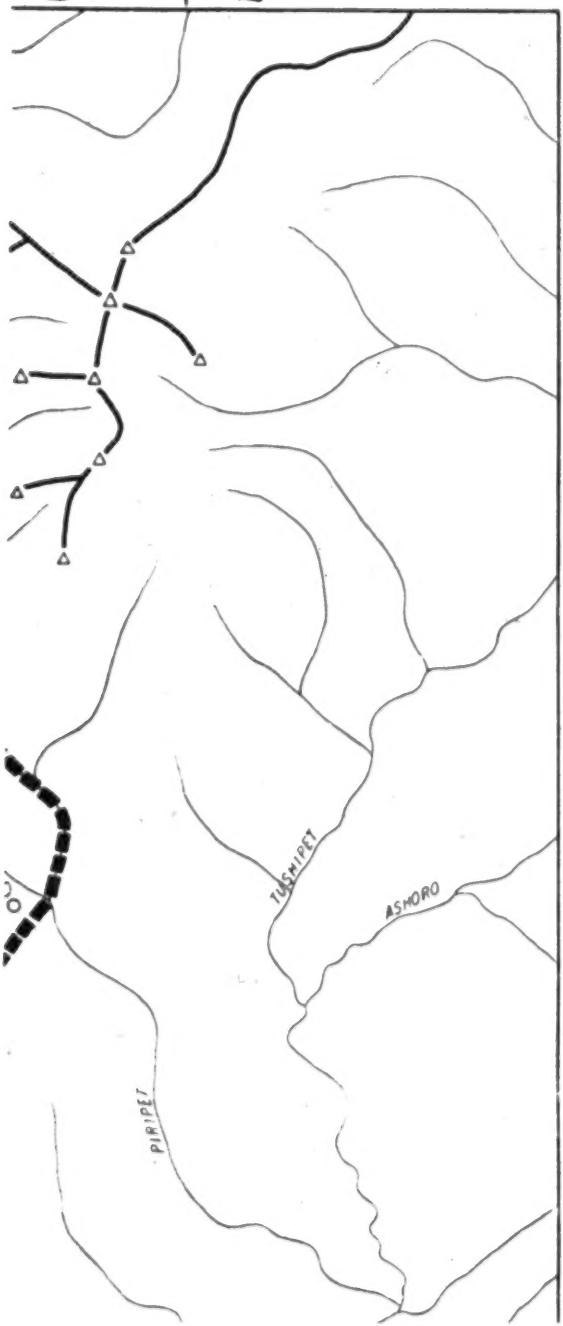
Otopuke
Ishikari
Tomraushi
Nipesho
Pishikachinai
KAMUIROKI
SARUNNAI
SARUNNAI
HOANARAKKI
TOKAPCHI
PENKE NIKORO
PANKUSH SAKORO
FENKAI
SHIKARIPET
TOHMAPET
SHI-SHIKARIPET
ONSEN
NUPUN TOMRAUSHI
TOMRAUSHI

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

[End map-D]



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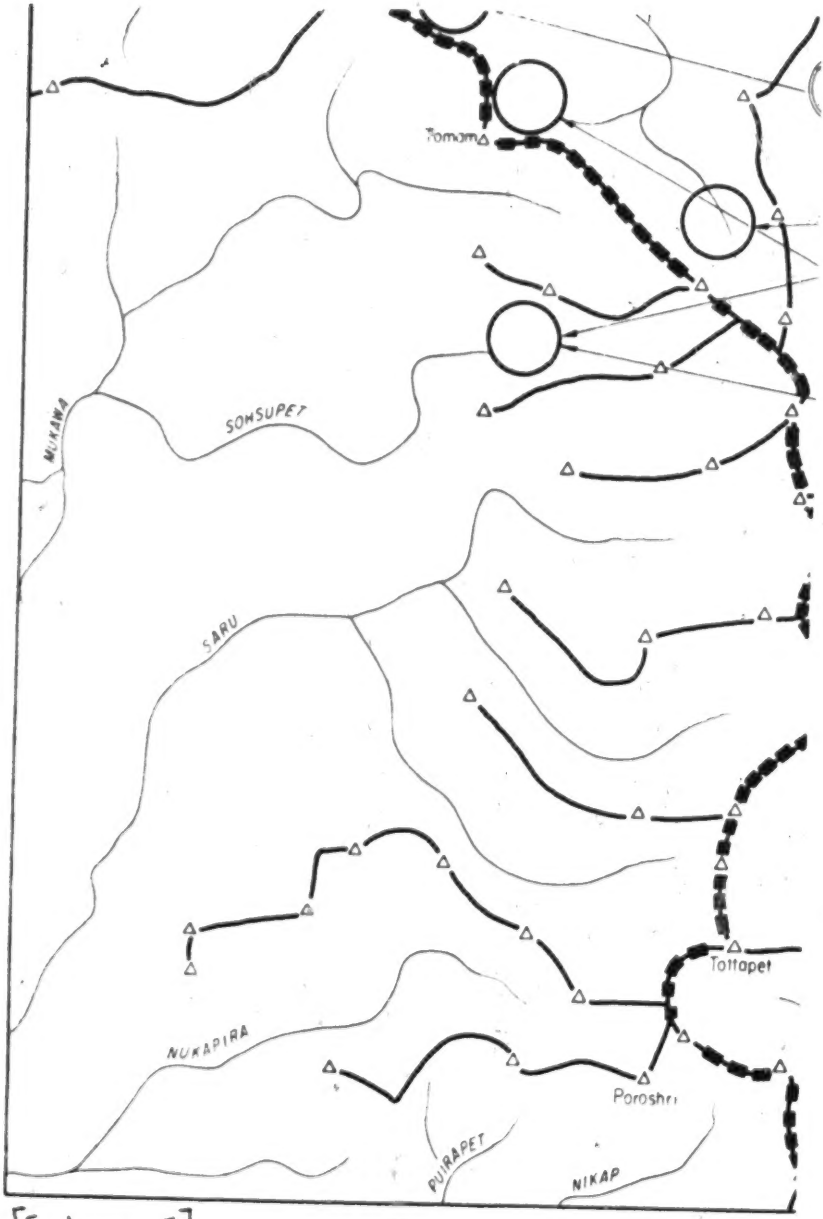
11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



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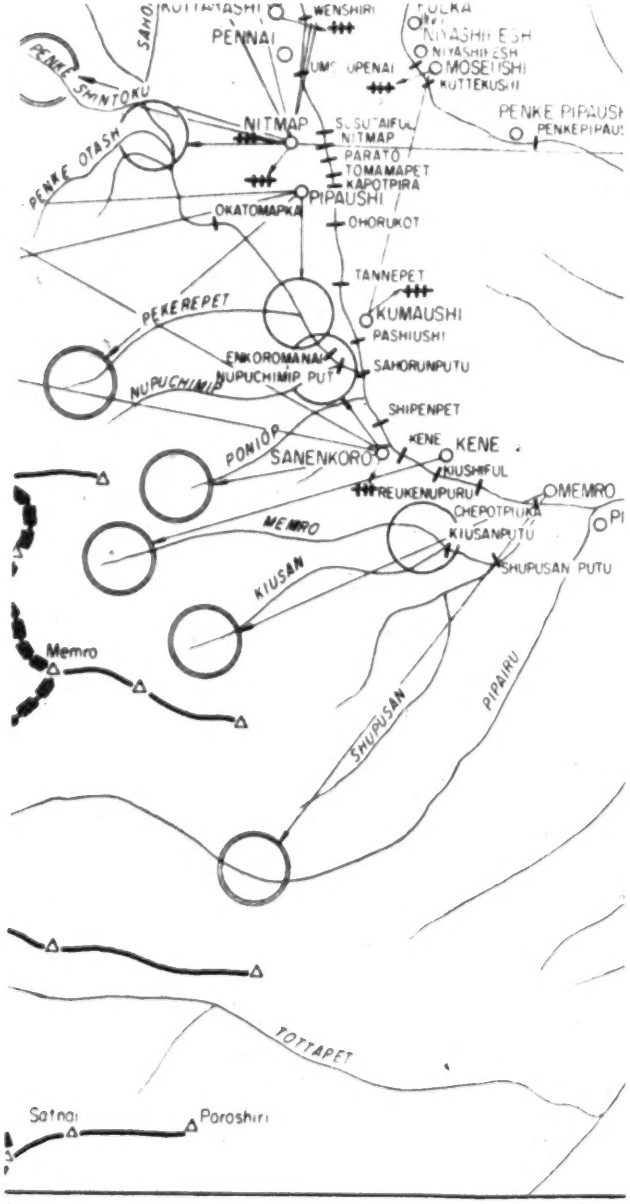
[End map-E]

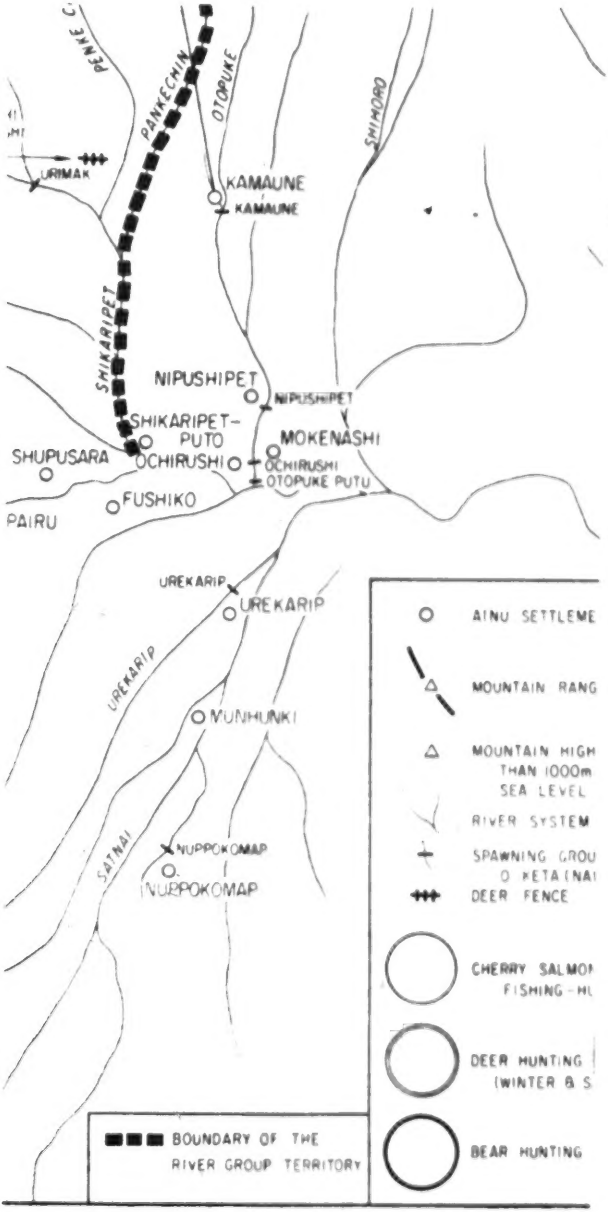
Map. 2.



Distribution of Ainu settlements, hunting and fishing huts, and oth

[End map-F]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



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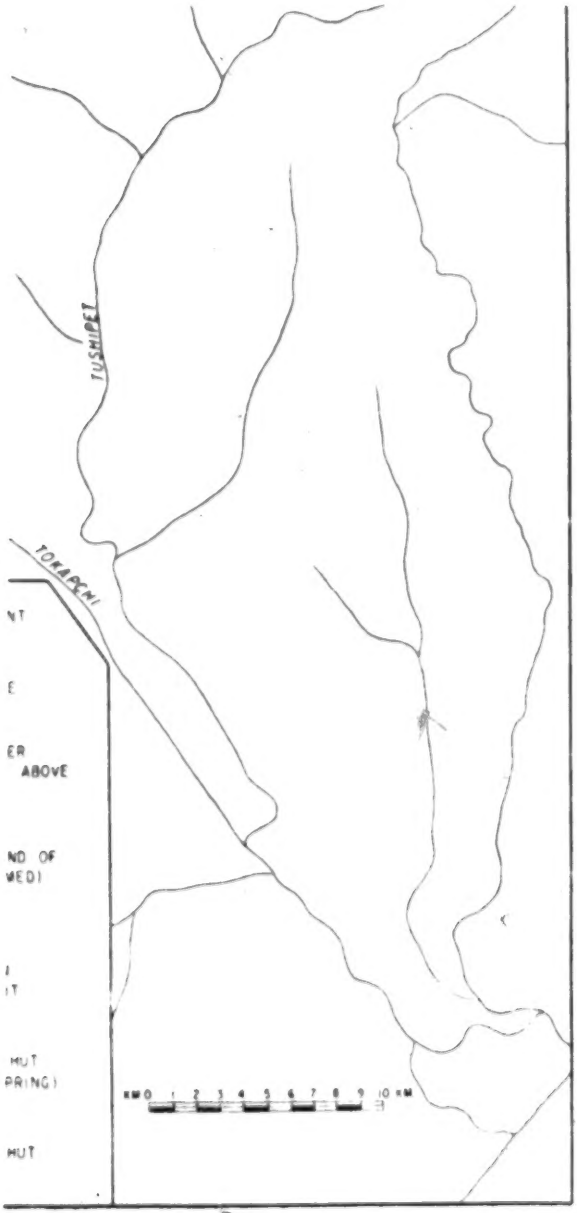
er gathering sites. The upper Tokapchi Valley.

[End map-G]

11: **Watanabe** E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



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[End map - H]

G /576 cont./

224 In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as
171 described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

A G 224 It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peoples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinsô's travel account (1) one finds

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2),

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2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is
000 known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

A 224 114 [192] /576 cont./ More Trustworthy and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reindeer and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however, the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure, not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them, too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more abundant and better existence through a more active practice of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account in trade with the Gilyak.

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Gi 224 433 The situation is different for the other neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

Gi [439]